# THE NEW REPUBLIC

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## The Fall of Rome

The capture of Rome has great psychological and political value, and substantial military value as well. If the Allies press their advantage, a good part of the German armies in that region should be captured or destroyed, and the whole front should be pushed back a long distance before the Germans can stabilize it again, if, indeed, they are ever able to do so. Psychologically, the capture of what had been the capital of one of the three chief Axis powers, and the original home of fascism, is important. It should do much to eradicate the bad impression created by the long stalemate.

In a political sense the seizure of Rome is also important. The Italian King promised to withdraw as soon as our troops entered the city. If he has not done so before these lines are read, he should be forced out at once. We now have a chance to redeem our political blunders in Italy, by calling a conference of all anti-fascist forces and letting them determine the fate of the Badoglio cabinet. It is such a chance to redeem ourselves in the eyes of Europe's democrats as may not come again.

## Shuttle Bombing in Eastern Europe

For more than a year, people have been asking why American bombing planes did not operate from bases in Russia; and no one supplied any very clear answer. Perhaps one reason was that our supplies of planes were still limited, and the authorities felt that the most important targets were those in Western Europe. It may be that before Teheran, Russian distrust of her Western allies was still strong. At any rate, the project is now completed. Large formations of American bombers are engaged in shuttle service across Eastern Europe; the first flight bombed targets selected by Russian military leaders for the purpose of slowing the movement of German supplies to the Rumanian front. Not a square inch of the territory of Germany or her satellites is now free from danger.

## A Good Plan about Oil

The New York Herald Tribune says that the United States and Great Britain are now discussing a thoroughly sensible plan for dealing with oil in the post-war world. The plan, proposed by the Americans, is for an international commission containing representatives of all the oil-producing countries, which will allocate the world's oil resources. The plan, we are told, is the exact opposite of a cartel system, which would seek to limit production and keep prices high. On the contrary, the purpose will be to encourage the legitimate use of oil and to avoid unreasonably high prices. If the scheme goes through, the proposed American pipeline across Saudi Arabia will probably never be built—which seems to confirm the theory that it may have been intended from the beginning more as a bargaining point than as an engineering reality. The new plan certainly looks in the right direction. If all oil-consuming countries, whether producers or not, are eventually added to the international commission, it should serve to remove one important international friction point after the war.

## The Hull Peace Scheme

Secretary Hull has once again indicated the main lines along which the administration is thinking, as to the postwar world. His suggestions fit in so neatly

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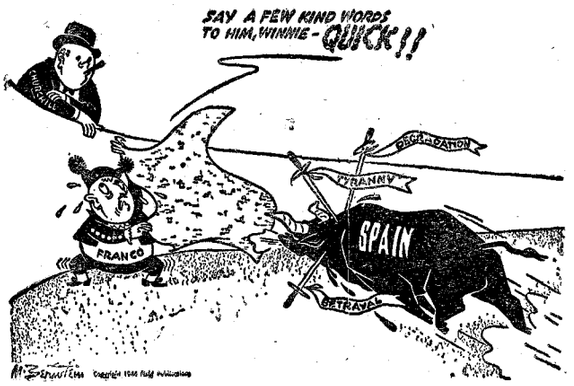
with those in Winston Churchill's speech a fortnight ago as to remove the possibility of coincidence. The plan is to have a council of the four chief Allied powers —the United States, Great Britain, Russia and China. There will also be an assembly which will include the other members of the United Nations, and eventually, no doubt, all other countries which live up to the standards required. The burden of keeping the peace will be exclusively upon the four great powers, at least at the beginning.

All this, of course, might be very good or very bad, depending on the spirit in which these engagements were made. The Big Four might go in for a new worldwide orgy of imperialism; or they might regard themselves as trustees for the democratic impulses of all mankind. It is seriously disturbing that up to now no effort has been made to create any sort of United Nations organization, despite the great and obvious advantages of doing so at once. It is disturbing also that one of the key figures in the proposed council should be Mr. Churchill, who says, exactly as Mr. Chamberlain once did, that it is no concern of ours whether other countries have fascist governments, so long as they do not openly attack us. The Chinese are angered that Britain insists on retaining Hong Kong; the Indians are disturbed that nothing more is said about the Cripps Plan or any modification of it. Mr. Churchill, however, is not a permanent fixture in the British government; there are plenty of other people in England as sincerely devoted to democratic principles as anyone on this side of the Atlantic. Certainly, no one can say at this stage that the fight for an increasingly democratic world has been lost.

## Ignoring the House

The President and Mr. Hull are taking great pains not to alienate the Senate, and especially the Senate Republicans, as Woodrow Wilson did. Mr. Hull has been consulting at much length with a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It is curious, however, that he should thus far have almost entirely ignored the House of Representatives. Technically, treaties are ratified by the Senate only; but this is a poor time to cling to technicalities. Half the troubles of the Roosevelt administration with Congress have been caused by repeated failures of tact, by simply not taking the trouble to tell the people up on the Hill what was going on. It would be a great pity if the old blunder were repeated.

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## Good News from Alabama

Chalk up another victory for the progressives. Representative John Newsome of Alabama, a thoroughgoing reactionary, has been defeated in the Democratic run-off primary by former Representative Luther Patrick. Newsome had only five right votes out of eighteen in the chart printed in The New Republic of May 8. His defeat is additional evidence that the press has greatly exaggerated the size of the reactionary trend.

## Mr. Spangler Does It Again

The best piece of luck for the Democrats this year is the presence of Harrison Spangler as chairman of the Republican National Committee. You can rely on Mr. Spangler to boot away a possible Republican victory if it can be done. His savage attack on the CIO Political Action Committee a few days ago was not only false in its charges, but it gave the whole country the impression that the Republican Party is anti-labor. Members of the AFL as well as the CIO would be well justified, other things being equal, in voting against Mr. Spangler's candidate.

## For a Free World

The International Free World Association, meeting a few days ago in New York City, produced an excellent fourteen-point program for dealing with liberated Europe. The Association called for recognition of the French Provisional Government, the removal of the Italian King, and a conference of all anti-fascist Italian parties to decide what to do about Badoglio. It wants the small nations, and especially her neighbors, to help decide what shall be Germany's fate. It would promise free elections in Spain. Throughout Europe, the Association would have the underground movements taken as the true spokesmen for their people, and would have no official appointed over them without their consent. The Association wants a general council of the United Nations to be created at the moment when we invade. Unlike Winston Churchill, who doesn't mind the fascists as long as they do not openly attack him, the International Free World Association is opposed to fascism anywhere and everywhere. This is a fine program. We wish the statesmen were sufficiently statesmanlike to adopt it.

## The Conference of Governors

The conference of Governors this year seemed even more barren and unproductive than usual. It was overshadowed by the presidential ambitions of at least two of the state executives who were present, and the

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speech-making was mainly intended for its political effect. The Republicans as usual parroted the cry for states' rights. Obviously, the federal government should not do things that can better be done by the states; and, obviously, there are many matters over which the states, nowadays, have, and can have, no control. These are questions of fact, and they are not helped by trying to turn states' rights into a religion. The Republicans, of course, are looking hard for an issue against the Democrats. You may take it for granted that if they won the election, very little more would be heard about "federal encroachment."

## The FEPC

The Fair Employment Practice Committee has escaped another ax gang—but there is another, even stronger one, just around the corner. Despite the Southern bloc in the House of Representatives and their Republican collaborators, the House approved the recommendation of the Appropriations Committee that the FEPC be granted $500,000 with which to carry on its work during the next year. That is $85,000 less than the sum which the President requested for the agency. A long string of parliamentary tricks were attempted to kill the appropriation. Representative Vito Marcantonio deserves a major share of the credit for blocking the move to throw out the FEPC on a point of order. Now the Senate's Unholy Alliance of Southern Democrats and Republicans is preparing for the coming battle there. The FEPC will have harder sledding in the Senate. It needs more support from its friends now than ever before.

## Roy Howard's Revenge

Roy Howard had to wait 26 years for his revenge, but at last it came. Howard, president of United Press, was personally responsible for the false Armistice report on November 7, 1918, and has been blushing ever since. Now his great rival, the Associated Press, has upset the applecart with a wrong report on the invasion of Europe. This one was corrected in two minutes, and so far as we can see, it did no real harm. The series of circumstances by which the innocent finger exercises of a young English girl employed to perforate tape for transatlantic transmission got across the ocean was the sort of thing that occurs only once in a lifetime. And we don't doubt that the young lady in question feels that once in a lifetime is enough.

## The Farmer and His Debt

All of us are hoping the financial crisis following the other war will not be repeated after this one; and luckily, one of the most disastrous influences that brought about the economic conditions between the two wars is much modified. During the First World War and the period immediately thereafter, booming land values and prosperous farm conditions encouraged farmers to increase their mortgage indebtedness two and one-half times, to buy new land and new farm improvements at inflated prices. The subsequent crash left farms loaded with a total mortgage debt of $8,448,772,000 as compared to a prewar level of $3,200,000,000. With a mortgage load 250 percent bigger and a price for products 15 to 30 percent less, something had to happen. Since farm income represents the most widely distributed buying power in the nation, one can readily see what a wallop this condition handed to our economic system.

In the present war, that trend seems to be reversed. Farmers are again getting vastly increased prices for their products, farm lands are again booming and farm owners are again buying more land. But instead of increasing their total mortgage indebtedness, they have actually reduced it nearly a half billion dollars since Pearl Harbor and more than a third from the peak load of $9,630 million of 1930. The present debt is $6,350 million. Agricultural land-bank payments were greater by 41 percent in 1943 than in 1942, and during that year farmers paid $4.62 on their land-bank mortgages for every dollar of new loan. To be sure, excessively high land values are a danger in themselves, and there is no doubt that in many parts of the country farms are selling at greatly exaggerated prices. Nevertheless, the total situation is not so serious as it was last time.

## Dr. Salvemini and Hollywood

A few weeks ago Professor Gaetano Salvemini of Harvard, one of the greatest living anti-fascists, was invited to speak before the Hollywood Writers' Congress. Then the invitation was modified to say that he could not speak unless "there is a definite assurance that you do not attack the United Nations or the policies of the United States as embodied in the Atlantic Charter and the Teheran Agreement." Dr. Salvemini refused to speak wearing a muzzle, and the meeting was canceled.

In The New Republic of May 1, we published an editorial in which we assumed that the action in regard to Dr. Salvemini had been taken by Communists, in an effort to follow the new ultra-conservative line of the Communist Political Association, whose attitude is now indistinguishable from that of the National Association of Manufacturers. Two persons in Hollywood have written to us pointing out that there are many members of the Hollywood Writers' Congress who are not Communists, and saying that our editorial was unfair to them. We certainly did not wish to imply that there were no non-Communists in this group; we do not know what the proportions are, nor do we feel that the matter is important. We should be sorry, however, to learn that the attempt to silence Dr. Salvemini, in violation of democratic principles of free speech, was entirely or mainly the work of non-

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Communists. We feel that the kindlier and more reasonable explanation is that the incident was caused by the excessive zeal of erstwhile revolutionaries suddenly trying to conform to majority opinion.

## The Disgrace at Brewster

FOR A STARTLING EXAMPLE of lack of foresight, it would be hard to find an incident worse than the closing of the Brewster aircraft plant without any provision for the employees. If nothing else were involved, the lack of simple justice would be bad enough. War workers have been besought by every possible means to take essential jobs, to toil in them overtime and at top speed. They have been persuaded on grounds of patriotism to endure overcrowding, difficulties of transportation and unsatisfactory conditions of work without complaint. Their unions have given a pledge not to strike—a pledge loyally kept in the overwhelming majority of cases—and when unauthorized work stoppages have occurred, the offenders have been disciplined. Then without warning comes an order to cease production in this plant, without any further provision on the part of the government for the use of its facilities or manpower. The employees are thrown out of jobs overnight because the navy has no need for more planes of the type it has been making.

Even if there were no national shortage of labor at this time, such an action would be in the tradition which regards workers not as industrial citizens, but as a commodity to be bought when it is in demand and thrown on the scrap heap when the market fails. This policy is both inhuman and unwise in any long-term view, and is now disapproved by most private employers. But at a time when we are told by every authority that there is an acute shortage of manpower, and when the navy itself is calling for a National Service Act, it is downright insane.

If workers really were a commodity like copper or chromium, we can be sure no such incident could have occurred. Manufacturers who need additional manpower, the army and the navy, and the government behind them, would be anxiously searching for potential sources of supply, and would be informed of the possibility of such a windfall weeks before it occurred. They would be besieging the proper authorities for priorities or allocations, so that they might take immediate advantage of it. Indeed, the navy itself, jealous of its sources of supply, would have been combing over its future manpower requirements plant by plant, so that the instant any workers were released by the completion of a quota, they might be utilized for some other task. We suggest to Secretary Forrestal that failure to act on this principle in the Brewster case is a piece of gross negligence and dereliction of duty, for which the responsible officers ought to be court-martialed.

Anyone with the IQ of a boy of ten would have thought of such practical considerations, but a really intelligent man would have been struck also by the inevitable effect of an incident of this kind on the morale of war workers in general. Workers are accustomed to being flattered and cajoled when their services are in demand, and ignored when they are no longer needed. They are more conscious than any other group in the community that war work will not last forever. They are subject to the constant temptation to make their jobs last as long as possible rather than to work with full efficiency. They know that, in the absence of a plan and policy to the contrary, the Brewster lay-off is not an isolated incident, but has its predecessors, and will be repeated again and again as production programs are completed. They are far more sensitized to the propaganda of the deed than to the propaganda of the word. The nation might have saved millions of dollars and possibly thousands of lives as well, by the avoidance of such a blunder.

These considerations bring into the picture the necessity for concrete and inclusive plans for conversion to civilian production, as the total requirements for manpower in war industries slacken. War production is not going to stop all at once; there is bound to be a period of gradual decline. Are we to be faced with a series of lay-offs, without any provision for converting labor power to the manufacture of those things which civilians need and have the purchasing power to buy? Are we then to be faced with the inevitable result—a series of demands on the part of employees that war contracts be extended to give them employment, after the need for the munitions has ceased to exist? Some unemployment is bound to accompany reconversion, even with the best of foresight, because the release of workers is not always paralleled by the release of the necessary materials and equipment for civilian production, and retraining may often be necessary. But the existence of a general and coherent plan would avoid lay-offs which take everyone concerned by surprise. There would at least be some provision to utilize every group of employees at some time in the future, and there would be provision to carry them over the interval.

The War Production Board has been hesitant to emphasize reconversion because of its possible effect in slowing up and restricting the output of essential munitions. Certainly no civilian goods should be made at the expense of anything which the armed forces can possibly need. But if we are to have a workable plan for reconversion, there can be no delay in preparing it for application in every instance where it is feasible.

This is not a matter for hit-and-miss adjustment or for muddling through. Intolerable confusion is certain to result if we rely on unplanned private enterprise to take over as soon as it is permitted to do so, where the armed services let go. Just as we mobilized industry for war, we must remobilize it for peace. The first

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essential is a bill of goods and services which the population will require in peace, and which can be produced with the manpower and equipment available. So much housing, so many automobiles, so many durable consumers' goods of other kinds, so much food, clothing, teaching, medical services and so on. Such a bill of goods would not be an arbitrary production program, but a forecast of wants which we know in advance can be met, to serve as a guide. It will of course be capable of elaboration in detail, and of modification as market forces register actual consumers' demands.

With such a guide, it will be possible to plan reconversion intelligently, to allocate new machinery and materials as they become available, and above all to inform released workers who wish to continue as wage earners. Without it, there will be no alternative to the first-come, first-served policy which nearly upset the war economy at the beginning, to hoarding of materials and labor, to widespread unemployment probably accompanied by inflation—in short, to chaos.

The Brewster incident might have been relatively unimportant if taken alone; the workers will get along somehow. But as a symptom of lack of intelligent manpower planning for war and of the immediate need for planning for peace, it is an eloquent warning.

## To Steal the Election

IT IS IMPORTANT that Americans should understand what is happening in Texas and South Carolina, and what threatens in Mississippi, Arkansas and perhaps elsewhere. In these states a conspiracy is on foot between Republicans and conservative Democrats to steal the election next fall. To do so, they intend to make ingenious use of a loophole in our Constitution.

The Founding Fathers did not intend that Presidents should actually be elected by popular vote. They set up an arrangement under which the people should vote for members of an electoral college who should then meet and choose the President and Vice President. Very soon, however, the electoral college turned into a mere formality. The people began voting for electors pledged in advance to one presidential candidate or another. In fact, though not in theory, the country has had popular direct election of Presidents, though by states and not by a simple nationwide majority.

This plan the members of the Unholy Alliance propose to subvert. The people of all the states mentioned are overwhelmingly for the reëlection of President Roosevelt. They will vote the Democratic ticket next November on the supposition that they are voting for Roosevelt. But the anti-Roosevelt coalition which controls the Democratic Party in these states will betray the wishes of the people. They will wait to see how the rest of the country votes. If the election is fairly close, their hand-picked electors will vote for the Republican candidate, either giving him the victory or throwing the election into the House of Representatives.

This precious scheme is of course a denial of democratic principle and practice. The voters of the Southern states would be betrayed. If it went through, it would certainly result in an immediate demand for a constitutional amendment abolishing the electoral college and giving the country a direct popular vote for President. But such an amendment could not possibly be effective earlier than 1948. In the meantime, in the middle of a world war, we should see deep internal dissension, the validity of the election called into question —a disaster second only to a military defeat.

Nathan Robertson, writing in PM, says he has evidence that big business plotted the coup in Texas. He names as being prominent among the plotters representatives of the Sun Oil Company (headed by Joe Pew, Republican boss of Pennsylvania), Standard Oil of New Jersey, the Ford Motor Company, Sinclair Oil, railroads, pipelines and investment houses. Several of the men have been openly known as Republicans in the past. Naturally, these men deny that they have acted on behalf of their companies, but the result is the same.

At present, the backers of the plot in Texas are using it as blackmail upon the Democratic Convention at Chicago. They are insisting on the restoration of the two-thirds rule and a plank in the platform reasserting "white supremacy." If they fail to get these things, the rest of the plan goes into effect.

We find it hard to believe that even the bitterest enemies of President Roosevelt will dare to go through with this scheme. What elector would be brave enough to go back home and face his neighbors after he had voted against their wishes? Nevertheless, the fact that the reactionaries are talking of such a plan, and have already seized control of the Democratic Party in at least two states, is significant of the times in which we live. It is nonsense to say of fascism that it can't happen here. It has already begun to happen, in parts of the Solid South.

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# Britain's New World

## I. The Coming Collectivism

ENGLAND knows very well what she is fighting for: she is fighting for survival. England looks on American soldiers with friendly lack of comprehension: Americans generally seem to have so little idea why they are fighting. Many American boys feel their only way home is through Berlin, and have taken their army-canalized nostalgia as their strongest motivation. Failure to fill this ideological vacuum with some stronger inspiration is one of most tragic American inadequacies. "How can we discuss domestic problems in the midst of a presidential election?" United States educational officials say.

But this is an interim report on Britain, not America. Britain is in a desperate struggle and faces a difficult future. A revolutionary change has occurred in her world position. At home new social drives are appearing. Still the country is full of amazing contrasts. With social legislation on the whole a generation ahead of America's, the country is still without a decent pure-food-and-drug law (miraculously passed in the United States in 1905). The most amazing patent-medicine advertisements still appear on walls and hoardings in penny papers and the lordly Times. One's liver is always being appealed to. Pink pills will cure all man's ills. American doughboys who regard unemployment insurance as socialistic and have no idea of Britain's modern factory laws, look at these advertisements derisively, as another illustration of an open-and-shut case: Britain is hopelessly behind the times.

But Britain is up to the times in a way the Yanks hardly suspect; in the sense of knowing with somber realism exactly where the British Empire stands in the postwar economic world, and what must be done about it. The present British interim report can be presented in two phases, international and domestic. In both cases the key is expansion and collectivism. The policy is adopted in the grim belief that England, after the war, will have a new fight almost as tough as the one against Hitler.

Statistics tell the story.

First, Britain is no longer so big as she was in contrast to the new industrial giants, here or prospective. The total white population of the British Empire is only 76 million, with the British Isles accounting for 46 million. That isn't so big, compared with America, Russia, let alone China, or even Germany. The British birth rate is sinking. For generations some Americans have had a subconscious or open hostility to Britain based on fear, fear instilled by ancient textbooks and the apprehension of Britain as a colossus. The other day I listened to Sir John Anderson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, present his budget to Parliament. Here is the sober way he put it: "We have a population of about one-third of that of the United States, and a national income of not much more than one-fifth." He included these among what he called "somber facts."

Second, Britain's postwar economic position: This is bleaker than the matter of population. In fact, a revolution has occurred. Before World War I, as Sir John again put it, the United Kingdom was "the world's leading creditor country." Costs of the First World War drained off a lot of this British fat, and World War II has finished the job. Britain isn't a creditor nation any more; she is a debtor nation. That is one of the biggest international changes of our day. Britain, Sir John explained, has parted with $4 billion overseas assets to pay for this war so far, and has incurred overseas obligations of another $8 billion. Those are the cold, hard facts. Who has got the assets which Britain lost? Sir John explained. Not neutrals, but Allies, have taken 90 percent of the switched credits. For "Allies" read chiefly "America." The "Allies" will emerge from the war "greatly strengthened" by this spectacular overturn, Sir John added; Britain will emerge "greatly weakened."

So that is the statistical story. It is not the whole story. The British Empire has a population of over 500,000,000. It has vast resources. Britain has the loyalty of her dominions, the leadership of highly skilled men. Above all, Britain has a degree of domestic unity on the postwar problem which Americans can only envy.

Britain simply must have postwar trade. That is what the foregoing statistics boil down to. Britain must expand, must reopen shiplines and markets. For Britain this is a matter of survival. There are signs that this may bring clashes with the United States. That will be too bad. But whereas export trade is the frosting on the cake to Americans, it is the very bread of life to the British. Americans might as well face the situation now. Britain is going out for the world export markets after the war. There is no reason why competition, and an expansionist world economy, should bring a real clash of interest. There is prosperity enough for everybody. But of what Britain will do—must do—there is no doubt. "It will be indispensable for us," Sir John told the Commons, "to increase our exports and recapture some of the trade which we lost in the interwar years. That will be a matter of *life and death* to us, for it is impossible for any country to live indefinitely beyond its international income."

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For world trade one of the basic requirements is a sound medium of international exchange. That is why Britain has taken the lead in the new international-currency scheme. In her present poor bargaining position Britain must acquiesce in many American proposals, and does so with good grace. But Britain is not going back to gold. She is not going to fall into that mystical fallacy again. America may keep her gold locked up in a hole at Fort Knox; may accept gold from Russia and South Africa in exchange for American goods with real value. The rest of the world will be delighted to have the United States take this altruistic gold brick, and so help distribute its own incredible prosperity. But Britain from now on will always have an escape clause in the gold matter. Directly or indirectly, she will have a managed currency.

The British domestic situation fits into the international field, for one is dependent on the other. As Lord Woolton, Minister of Reconstruction, recently put it, the government is pledged to "that large increase in export trade on which the whole policy of full employment will depend."

Britain is firmly bent on a domestic expansionist policy of full employment. That phrase may sound deceptively innocent. Britain is not a socialistic country. It is doubtful if she would be socialist even if the Labor Party took over at some time after the war, though the party is pledged, theoretically at least, to socialist dogma. But American soldiers over here have discovered a tremendous amount of collectivism. Some is good, some bad. The most conspicuous failures are the ones the American soldiers observe first, the dull BBC radio programs and the awful telephone system.

But collectivism of some sort is in the ascendent in Britain. Particularly it takes this vital form, that the government has and accepts a responsibility for keeping men working. Britain, I should say, moves steadily to the Left, while America seems trending to the Right. The average man's question—Why can't we have the same employment in peace that we have in war?—has practical validity here. The government is being forced to accept responsibility; indeed has already done so. We do not regard Winston Churchill as a dangerous radical in the United States. But he accepts a theory of government economic responsibility and social collectivism (along with most other British conservatives) that makes FDR look like a real Tory.

"The Beveridge plans," in their various phases, are examples of this. The Churchill government may not take up the whole of the original Beveridge proposal, for meeting nearly every human vicissitude from cradle to grave. But it is going a long way in that direction. Everything is on a small scale in Britain, with national income one-fifth America's. By standards of the newly arrived doughboy, Britain is a poverty-ridden country, and it is almost inconceivable to him that British conditions are better than those elsewhere in Europe. The amounts paid in social insurance seem petty and inadequate. Nevertheless, in comparison to Britain's own living standards and income, they are big. In percentage, the insurance is a lot bigger than the recipient in similar circumstances in America receives, if, indeed American social security covers his case at all.

England is going ahead on social security. And Sir William Beveridge is going ahead on another report. The first one, financed by the government, dealt with people after they are unemployed. The new one, which is Sir William's personal study, deals with how to prevent unemployment. In other words, how the government can manage full production. The answer he produces is in many respects the one offered by Lord Keynes, and by Alvin Hansen in America. The government must intervene. It must so manipulate the complicated economic machinery by the new technique of curbs and controls as to level off booms, abort depressions and continue an expansionist economy.

Beveridge is a symptom. Collectivism seems normal. Take the British army. It is proud of domestic "social security." At the forefront of a recent war-aims brochure of the ABCA (Army Bureau of Current Affairs) are put social-security plans, the new education bill, the program for rehousing and similar enterprises. For these, in part, the average Tommy is fighting. What similar social reforms could be pointed to for the American soldier, as a reward for his valor?

The British trend continues in other directions. To criticism by the British Medical Association of the Churchill government's far-reaching new health scheme, Minister of Health Willink boldly and bluntly replied, "There is no question of 'whether,' only the question of 'how' and 'in what form.'" The unanimity behind such philosophy is striking.

Britain's hope for full employment at home fits into her problems abroad. If she can't get international trade, her standard of living will fall. Social legislation will spread national income, but won't raise it.

The final point is that international economics are now indissolubly linked, whether there is a political League of Nations or not. As Lord Keynes drily observed in a recent parliamentary debate, he hoped the nations would not "export unemployment." More particularly, British well-being now closely follows prosperity in the United States.

The British look with misgiving on the American scene. Their economy is tied, willy-nilly, to ours. It was the American 1929 economic collapse which set the train for half of Europe's evils. Unemployment produced Hitler. The American finds a curious situation in London. The British are selfishly anxious about the economic muddle they foresee in the United States because of its effect on themselves. There have been frank articles in The Economist, in The Times. Whereas the British are united on their postwar eco-

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nomic aims, and the means to attain them, the United States is discovered to be bitterly divided. The British shrug and hope for the best.

The snug United Kingdom is not so snug as it was. Terrible economic problems loom after the war. The challenge is only less great than the challenge of Hitler. Every motive of international security, and most motives of profit-and-loss, call for coöperation with America. But if the United States goes in for another big era of reckless boom and collapse, the British must protect themselves. In the new international-currency scheme there is an escape clause. The British will try to avoid the consequences of a new American 1929.

*London* RICHARD LEE STROUT

## II. No More Depressions

THE GOVERNMENT ACCEPTS as one of its primary aims the responsibilities for the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment after war." These words open the most welcome White Paper written by the Churchill government during this war. No doubt it will spell socialism to the National Association of Manufacturers and will sound the death knell of free enterprise to the Committee on Economic Development. It will smell no sweeter to British big business. But to the public it means the promise of steady jobs, which is the war aim of the man in the street. People may suspect that Lord Woolton is aiming to undercut the long-awaited Beveridge Report on full employment, soon to appear, and that Mr. Churchill is blinking one eye anxiously toward a general election. It may be that action will not follow these brave words; but at least we now know that the experts are aware of no reason why all citizens should not continue to have jobs in peacetime.

The heresies of a decade ago are now clothed with the ultra-dull respectability of a government White Paper published by the Stationery Office. In 1931 the Labor Government was overthrown because it wanted to spend its way through the depression, even in pennies. No one thought of asking the advice of Mr. Keynes. Today Lord Keynes is in the Treasury and the Minister of Reconstruction says that, deficit or not, public expenditure should rise as employment falls. Followers of Keynes are scattered through all government departments, cabinet offices and the Central Statistical Office. It was they who wrote the new policy: the economists had at last got their chance.

The central aim is to prevent the total expenditure for goods and services from falling when general unemployment appears. Private investment is never steady; when it drops, unemployment ensues. Therefore government expenditure on current services and capital equipment must rise if private spending declines. The government intends to plan the programs for capital expenditure for public utilities of the central and local authorities five years ahead, and constantly readjust those programs in the light of the latest economic information. Consumer credits will also be created: the amount of the weekly contribution to social security of the worker and the employer should drop, it is suggested, about 15 cents with every two-point rise in unemployment. Purchasing power under these circumstances would rise about $2,500,000 a week. If varying contributions are insufficient to keep the economy on an even keel, taxes will be treated in the same way.

But this is not all. It is recognized that the policy would be fruitless unless wages and prices remain stable. Price subsidies will therefore be continued indefinitely if necessary. Restrictive practices of monopolies, and even of labor unions, will be reviewed and curbed when desirable. Even the location of industry and the subsequent employment opportunities will also be controlled. An industrialist wishing to establish a new factory, enlarge an old one, or move, is compelled to inform the Board of Trade, which will have power to prohibit or alter the proposed new development. The government will make strong inducements to industrialists to establish themselves in the former depressed areas such as Wales, Lancashire, the Clydeside and the Tyneside.

A central staff will be created to assemble economic intelligence and guide official policy. A complete annual census of production will be taken, and there will be monthly sample surveys of employment, production, consumption and stocks and orders on hand.

Sir William Beveridge has already called the paper "a declaration of war on unemployment," but expressed his fear that it may prove a phony war. Other critics say it would have been magnificent ten years ago but today is anachronistic and out of date. They feel public investment in such things as houses, schools and hospitals should have been insisted upon. As it is, the tap is turned only with the sag of private expenditure on motor cars and mansions. Public investment should give first priority to a high standard of consumption for the lower income groups instead of leaving this as the last item in the chain of events.

The critics, however, are only beginning to recover their breath, for they were taken by surprise. They did not expect that the government would favor a mixed economy with such a substantial slice of state control. The soldiers who are now waiting for a second front probably did not expect it either. The White Paper challenges the capitalist world. "Today the conception of an expansionist economy . . . is widely accepted, but . . . has never yet been systematically applied. In these matters, we shall be pioneers." These are certainly encouraging words.

*London (by cable)* MICHAEL YOUNG

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# Division in Education

THE PEOPLE of the United States, whether they know it or not, are moving irrevocably toward the most profound debate since the issue of slavery divided the nation. Lines are already being drawn, although it is still difficult to define the basic nature of the coming conflict. On its economic side, the issue lies between those who believe that this country can walk backwards into the postwar era and those who believe in walking face forward. Or, stated in plainer words, the issue is between those who wish to return to what is now euphemistically called free enterprise and those who see the future in terms of orderly planning. Its political phase separates those who believe that the state should furnish security and function on behalf of public welfare from those who adhere to the doctrine of states' rights and individual competition. On its educational or intellectual side the issue lies between those who demand that all thinking proceed from an authoritative base and those who believe that freedom to challenge authority is of the very essence of intelligence.

Perhaps the clearest way of stating the underlying conflict is to assume that we are confronted with an anti-democratic counter-revolution, not dissimilar from the movement which erupted in Europe after the World War I and brought in its wake the catastrophe of fascism and its ensuing World War II. I do not mean by this to imply that all persons who disagree with my sense of future progress in this country should be called fascists. Indeed, that word may have already outlived its usefulness so far as our internal struggle is concerned. There are other and better words to denote the attitude of those who are being drawn into the anti-democratic movement, words such as traditionalists, authoritarians, essentialists, fundamentalists. What is more important, however, than finding apt words is to be capable of detecting this movement by understanding its demands and its rejections.

Happily, this task of clarification has been undertaken by a group of citizens operating as the Conference on the Scientific Spirit and Democratic Faith. In its two meetings, the second of which was held in New York City a few days ago, this organization has boldly entered the debate, first by challenging the new authoritarians and next by affirming its own principles. As time goes on, it should become clearer where and in what manner the great struggle is to take place. Let us hope that this fateful dispute may be conducted on a reasonably high level of intelligence and sportsmanship. Neither the restraints imposed by the scientific spirit nor the good will which attaches to men who share the democratic faith should, however, deter those who have attempted this task of clarification from speaking plainly and audaciously. We have entered upon a struggle on behalf of freedom and truth and it was, I believe, an Ibsen character who offered this sage advice: "You should never wear your best trousers when you go out to fight for freedom and truth." Confusion is one of the most effective weapons of reaction.

It is appropriate then to begin, as did the Conference on the Scientific Spirit and Democratic Faith, by naming an organization which calls itself Education for Freedom, Incorporated, since the very title induces confusion. What does this group demand and what does it reject? On a basis of its own statements, it demands an education founded upon the wisdom of authority. It rejects the thesis that every generation must create its own authority. What is its conception of freedom? Obedience to static values incorporated in the classics and taught as the liberal arts. What is its characteristic learning method? To indoctrinate students with these values by means of formal logic. We are thereupon asked to believe that this formula leads to freedom. What is here rejected? Briefly, the entire lesson of scientific method acquired during the last three hundred years, namely, the lesson of free inquiry.

I have chosen to illustrate the nature of the coming conflict in terms of education because in this realm a number of extremely articulate spokesmen have already stated their case. President Robert Hutchins of the University of Chicago, one of the most facile representatives, if not the leader, of this movement, in his recent book, "Education for Freedom," actually speaks of his program in the language of revolution. He accuses the present generation of having accepted the doctrine that men are no different from brutes, that morals are another name for mores, that freedom is doing what you please, that everything is a matter of opinion, and that the test of truth is immediate practical success, and then goes on to say, "The revolution to which we have been called must end in the destruction of these notions and their power over individual and political action." (These words remind me of another curious bit of logic which I heard recently from another authoritarian. He insisted in the first section of his address that progressive education had produced a generation of soft and irresponsible young Americans and later he insisted with equal fervor that these same young men had suddenly become the best soldiers in the world.) Where, one should ask President Hutchins, has this curious doctrine which he denounces been taught? In what schools and colleges precisely? And who are the teachers who have thus perverted youth? I suspect that he, and many others in his group, have allowed their imaginations to construct convenient men

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of straw in order to make their atavistic education seem like salvation, since I have never, after a quarter-century of teaching, heard of any reputable educator who has either believed or taught the nonsense which he decries.

In answer to the claims of the authoritarians, whether found in the fields of education, economics or politics, members of the Conference on the Scientific Spirit and Democratic Faith showed in their sessions that they face the future with clear affirmations. They espouse, not the tradition of classical metaphysics, but rather the genuine tradition in which science is the search for truth, democracy the guarantor of freedom and education the instrument of progress. They believe that all authoritarian conceptions and practices lead inevitably to tyranny and that untruth and tyranny are the twin enemies of science and democracy. They have faith in human experience and in human resources, provided the former takes place in an atmosphere of freedom and the latter are coöperatively utilized. Hence, they believe that a society ordered and planned in the interest of human needs is likely to become a fulfilment of the democratic faith. When they equate science with democracy they do not thereby exclude other approaches to the problem of truth, but they do insist that these other avenues to truth must be ultimately subjected to the objective tests of scientific method. They make no distinctions between vocational and so-called liberal education, or between science and the humanities. Both are essential and complementary. A liberalizing education is not one which shuts the learner off from the work of the world but rather brings him into closer knowledge with this pervasive reality. There are not to be in the democracy of the future one set of persons educated to work only with their hands and another to work only with their minds, the latter furnishing the goals and the values for the former.

The manner in which this conflict is resolved will determine the quality and direction of American life for the coming era. Two traditions are at war with each other and we must decide which is integral with the basic American spirit. This conflict would have arisen whether or not we had entered the current war, but having participated in the war will have hastened and sharpened the issue. In any case, the fateful decisions cannot now be avoided or postponed.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

# Racism on the West Coast[1]

THE WEST COAST'S NEW CAMPAIGN to prevent the release of any persons of Japanese ancestry from relocation centers for the duration of the war began in December, 1942, with the appointment by the American Legion, California Department, of a five-man committee to conduct "an impartial investigation of all Japanese Relocation Areas in the State of California." Among the members of this impartial committee were Harper L. Knowles (of La Follette Committee fame); H. J. McClatchy of the California Joint Immigration Committee; and State Senator Jack Tenney of Los Angeles County. Tenney heads the "Little Dies Committee" of the state legislature. Shortly after the committee had been appointed, Tenney announced that it would take over the investigation for the American Legion.

Within the next two months, literally hundreds of West Coast organizations "went on record" by the adoption of a series of stock resolutions on the "Japanese question." I have examined scores of these resolutions and have yet to see one that by its form or content would indicate that it had been offered *by the members* of the particular organization; invariably these resolutions were presented *for concurrence* by one or another of the groups mentioned. With the newspapers featuring this organized activity, feeling began to mount throughout California. The city of Gardena omitted from its honor roll of citizens in the service the names of seventeen Japanese Americans; the American Legion summarily revoked the charters of the Townsend Harris and Commodore Perry Posts (made up of Japanese American veterans of the First World War). In Portland, Oregon, the Legion protested when local citizens sought to provide some volunteer care for a Japanese cemetery. Vigilante groups were formed in Salinas "to prevent the return of the Japanese." The California Federation of Women's Clubs expressed grave concern for their "sisters" in the East and Middle West whose safety, and presumably whose virtue, were being endangered by the release of evacuees from the centers.

The moment the legislature convened in January, 1943, a spate of anti-evacuee bills, resolutions and memorials were introduced. In debating these measures, mass evacuation was cited *as proof* of the disloyal character of the evacuees by the very individuals who had urged mass evacuation *for the protection* of the evacuees against mob violence. Statements and charges were hurled at the evacuees that no one had dreamed of during the period immediately after Pearl Harbor. Throughout the year legislative investigations, state and federal, were carefully spaced in such a manner as to provide an endless stream of newspaper headlines. First the Tenney investigation; then

[1] This is the second of two articles. The first appeared in our issue of May 29. – THE EDITORS

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the farcical investigation conducted by Senator Chandler of Kentucky (which was really directed by Ray Richards of The Los Angeles Examiner); then the Dies Committee investigation in June, 1943; then an investigation by still another committee of the California Assembly; and, finally, yet another investigation by the Dies Committee.

Before the Dies Committee had conducted any investigation whatever, Representative J. Parnell Thomas, from a room in the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles, began to release a barrage of sensational stories about the War Relocation Authority and the evacuees. Calling "smear" witnesses to the stand, the committee tried its best to prevent the WRA from refuting their baseless charges. Some 35 factual misstatements were pointed out in the testimony of one witness. At these hearings, witnesses were openly encouraged to threaten the evacuees with mob violence. Public officials charged with the duty of law enforcement were given a pat on the back when they predicted "free murder," "violence" and "bloodshed" if a single evacuee were permitted to return to the West Coast.

At the hearings of the Gannon Committee (of the state legislature), Mrs. Maynard Force Thayer of Pasadena—stanch Republican, an outstanding clubwoman, a pillar of the community—was browbeaten by the chairman of the committee in a manner that finally evoked a murmur of protest from The Los Angeles Times. Mrs. Thayer was asked, for example, if she had ever "smelled the inside of a Japanese home"; she was asked if she wanted the government "to protect a people who farm their wives out to another man to procreate his name"; and she was queried as to her opinion about a "people where different sexes do nude bathing together." When Mrs. Thayer tried to get in a word about the Bill of Rights, she was rebuked by Mr. Gannon as follows: "The Bill of Rights is not such a sacred thing . . . don't you know that at the time the Bill of Rights was written we had 150,000 slaves in the United States? What did the Bill of Rights do about that?" While this fantastic and obscene circus was being conducted, The Los Angeles Examiner, in one day, devoted 62 inches of space to the hearings. In being haled before these committees, I was questioned, not about the evacuees of the WRA program, but about my views on "racial integrity," "mongrelization," "mixed marriages," "miscegenation statutes" and similar fancy topics.

At the time of the so-called "riot" at Tule Lake, the real riot occurred, not in the center, but in the pages of the California newspapers. Newspaper stories appeared charging that "bombs, knives, guns and various lethal weapons" had been found among the evacuees; that a Japanese evacuee had "pushed his way into" the bedchamber of a "white woman"; that the personnel of the center was "intermingling" with the evacuees; that the evacuees were being "coddled" and "pampered" (on a food allowance of 43 cents per person per day). Mr. Ray Richards of the Hearst press even suggested that Dillon Myer had knowingly failed to confiscate "lethal weapons" and that he had been a party to the "manufacture" of such weapons (see The San Francisco Call-Bulletin, December 21, 1943). With unblushing mendacity, The Los Angeles Herald-Express carried a headline reading: "Bare Deadly Peril as Armed Japanese Stream into California." Representative John Costello went so far as to announce, on December 9, 1943, that "hundreds of Japanese Americans and alien Japanese" were being permitted to return to California. Needless to say, there was no semblance of truth in these charges. Later The Los Angeles Times, in fancy headlines, charges that "450 Cases of Whiskey Go to Tule Lake" and, again, "Whiskey Flows to Tule Lake." The whiskey in question was consigned to the *town* of Tule Lake, not to the relocation center. "These Japs," wrote a columnist in The Times (referring not to the Japanese in Japan but to some 70,000 American citizens of Japanese ancestry), "are a depraved breed who can't be dealt with like mischievous boys. . . . We should wake up to the fact that protection of Americans from these degraded brutes is of more importance than the Little Tokyo Knitting and Brotherly Love Club." Only the fact that the Japanese government, in November, 1943, canceled further negotiations for the exchange of nationals, finally brought about some moderation in this frenzied campaign.

A section of the West Coast press systematically deflects hatred of Japan against the evacuees and uses hatred of the evacuees to justify its contention that the war in the Pacific is primarily racial in character. The consistent theme of the Hearst press is that "the war in the Pacific is the World War, the War of Oriental Races against Occidental Races for the Domination of the World" (The Los Angeles Examiner, March 23, 1943). Here is another characteristic statement from The San Francisco Examiner of January 25, 1943 (italics mine):

> Bad as the situation is in Europe, the war there is between European Occidental nations, *between white races*. Antagonisms, hatreds and jealousies, no matter how violent, cannot obscure the fact that the warring nations of Europe stem from common *racial*, cultural, linguistic and social roots. *It is a family affair*, in which the possibility of ultimate agreement and constructive harmony has not been dismissed even by the most determined opponents.

There can be no question but that anti-evacuee agitation in California is being cultivated for partisan political purposes. The hearings mentioned were, in large part, aimed at "smearing" the administration and building up a wall of reactionary feeling by stimulating

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racial hatred. To some extent this agitation has unquestionably been effective. Political officials in California have been cowed into silence; even those who are inclined to be fair do not dare to speak out on this issue. Just as Senators Hill and Pepper have been forced to disavow any interest in racial equality, so even the fair-minded members of the California delegation in Congress have been coerced on this thoroughly bogus "Japanese problem." Not one of these men dares to state publicly his real views on the evacuee problem.

No more serious mistake could be made than to encourage the belief that these groups can be handled quietly or that, by tactful diplomacy, they can be induced to forget the "Japanese issue." The aggressions of race bigots in California are of the same character as the insulting attacks made in Congress on the Negro minority by the white-supremacy advocates from the Deep South. Race bigotry in California can never be appeased. Every concession made to bigotry on the West Coast (and mass evacuation was such a concession) only encourages bolder aggression. As Representative Eberharter said, in his courageous minority report as a member of the Dies Committee, these recurrent investigations in California have "fostered a type of racial thinking which is already producing ugly manifestations and which seems to be growing in intensity. Unless this trend is checked, it may eventually lead to ill advised actions that will constitute an everlastingly shameful blot on our national record." Recent flare-ups against the evacuees in other sections of the country show that, in the absence of a strong affirmative federal policy and program on the race question, California bigots stand a good chance of spreading their particular version of the white-supremacy doctrine throughout the nation.

The military situation in the Pacific has changed since mass evacuation was ordered. The Japanese have been forced out of the Aleutians; Hawaii has been converted into one of the great fortresses of the world (and martial law has been modified); the Japanese are on the defensive throughout the Pacific. Various emergency measures adopted after Pearl Harbor have been relaxed on the West Coast and the general situation has so changed in our favor as to warrant the military in lifting the ban against the return of the evacuees. As long as the ban exists, race bigots in California will have an issue about which they will continue to conduct ever more fantastic and increasingly violent campaigns. If the ban is lifted, there will be no mass return of the evacuees and the freely predicted "murder" and "bloodshed" will not occur. There is a respectable opinion in California today that favors lifting the ban. The organizations I have mentioned create, rather than reflect, public opinion on the West Coast.

Issues of great importance are involved in this question. In default of an affirmative federal policy and program on race relations, race-minded groups in California will continue, in effect, to dictate our policy as a nation toward the peoples of the Orient. By taking advantage of this latent weakness in the federal government, California since 1882 has forced the Washington authorities to adopt a series of measures each of which has seriously jeopardized our national interests in the Far East: the exclusion of Chinese immigration; the passage of the 1924 immigration law; the mass evacuation of the resident Japanese. It requires no insight to predict that this same situation will continue until the American people realize that local areas should not be permitted to force the federal government into the position of having to adopt their particular attitudes on race relations.

*Los Angeles* CAREY MCWILLIAMS

## "Tonight Over WXOZ"

Weep no more, America; oh, weep no more today:
This evening the ether waves will tremble with rich anodynes:
Ah, there'll be laffs & tears & lots of jiving hep-cat sway,
And plate-glass-smashing shots and screams to tingle spines.

You shall hear for the thousandth time the Hit of Hits
Rolled in on a squealing thunder of pumped-up applause;
Perennial and ponderous, a pair of black-face wits
Will at the customary intervals evoke corn-fed guffaws.

The Fourth Muse will, in concert, solace you tonight:
Stravinsky and some Bach infused with Victor Herbert taste;
"Trees" will succeed plush version of C. Debussy's "Moonlight,"
The while the beautiful blue Danube flows, the Bumble Bee makes haste.

The Drama: monstrous telephones in monstrous silence ring,
Doors slam; then exquisite sad strains mark tailor-made heartbreak:
Now for a fascinating little while Crime has its fling,
But Moral points out this is unprofitable path to take.

By now cerebral softening accommodates the news:
Drivel implicit in conjectured propaganda served on toast.
But yet, among soap plugs and ships and sealing wax and shoes,
Remember, please, the Laxative whose maker is your host.

Oh, weep no more, America, for what the hell's the use? . . .

FREDERICK EBRIGHT

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# Washington Notes

## Myopic Senators

THE ONLY WAY to explain how Senator Bankhead could have had the nerve to propose and fight for the preposterous "cotton escalator" amendment to the price act is to recall that in Alabama the Senator is known as "Parity John." When your name is "Parity John" or "Cotton Ed," anything you do in the name of cotton is just and righteous.

Senator Bankhead does not believe that he has made an assault upon the price-control system, nor does he believe that he is asking undue special favors for the cotton and textile people. He believes that his amendment is justified. From the point of view of the cotton farmer and the textile manufacturer, it is justified. And that is about the extent of the Senator's understanding.

The escalator amendment would bolster the price of cotton, according to its sponsors, by guaranteeing to at least 90 percent of the cotton-textile industry a "reasonable profit" on every item manufactured. In addition, the OPA would be required to adjust textile prices to fluctuations in the price of raw cotton. The price of raw cotton "shall be deemed" to be not less than parity, although cotton is slightly under parity today.

The Price Administrator has estimated that the amendment would increase textile prices by at least five percent and The New York Journal of Commerce has estimated that the increase would be as high as twenty percent. The consumer, of course, would pay the cost of the Bankhead amendment. The cotton-textile industry, which last year made a profit of 12.5 percent, or 32.9 percent on net worth of the mills, would have a windfall of $225,000,000 to $350,000,000 annually.

Whether the amendment actually would result in much higher prices for the farmer is debatable. It certainly would not increase the consumption of cotton, and there is this year a 10,000,000-bale carry-over. When one stops to think of the almost chaotic conditions that will face the cotton farmer after the war, it is easy to understand why he will support any attempt, however desperate, that will protect his interests. The heavy war demands for the staple have not substantially reduced the huge war stocks on hand and only through subsidies has the price been maintained a few points below parity. Radical measures are needed, but Senator Bankhead has not suggested them.

When the report on the bill to extend the price act was adopted in the Banking and Currency Committee only one Republican—Danaher of Connecticut—opposed the Bankhead amendment. The textile manufacturer as well as the cotton farmer had a lobby in Washington. Five Democrats—Wagner, Glass, Maloney, Radcliffe and Murdock—opposed the amendment and with Danaher wrote a blistering minority report. If the amendment stands, the report will come in handy when FDR writes his veto message.

The President, the Secretary of State and the eight Senators who know something about this government's proposals for the peace have kept their secret well. The 130,000,000 people who will be asked to underwrite the plans have not been told what they are. I think it is noteworthy that whereas President Wilson consulted the people and ignored the Senate, President Roosevelt consults the Senate and ignores the people. The President's "realistic" political advisers argue that he is playing a shrewd game by keeping silent and above the field of argument and discussion. Shrewd it may be, and it may help reëlect him this year, but I cannot believe that it will strengthen the American people in their struggle for survival.

Senator La Follette, who is a member of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee that has been meeting with Secretary Hull, is quoted by the isolationist press as being unwilling to support the plan until it is known what sort of peace settlement at the end of the war can be wrung from the other nations. I doubt that the Senator's negativist position on foreign policy has ever been better expressed. Like Wheeler, he is for international coöperation—but we must coöperate with perfect countries. Not with England, because she is imperialistic. Not with China, because she is not a pure democracy. Not with Russia, because she is an unknown. It is better for the world to chew itself up in wars every generation than for the United States to be caught collaborating with such wicked countries.

I have tremendous respect and liking for Senator La Follette. He did not wait to support the TVA until he knew that the McKellar influence would be completely nullified. He did not refuse to support the anti-poll-tax bill until he was assured that every voter would be sane and unbought. He did not oppose the Wagner Act on the ground that some labor leaders might abuse their privileges. Yet he cannot support a plan for international coöperation which might prevent another war twenty years from now. He is in the confidence of the Secretary of State and presumably has no objections to the proposals submitted from this end. But before sitting down at the conference table to try to work out a minimum plan of action on a coöperative basis, he asks all other countries if their skirts are clean.

Senator Wheeler, of course, is much more extreme in his view, but it is essentially the same. They are both very dangerous views, and I don't believe that the administration is doing much to undermine them when it refuses to take a position of public leadership.

Admiral King and others have warned again lately that the war is not yet won. Yet there appears to be the most amazing optimism in many quarters. Could it be that the Republicans are in some measure responsible for the false optimism? I do not, of course, think that they are consciously trying to fool the people into believing that from now on the task will be easy. But they know that Roosevelt's greatest argument for a fourth term is the war.

As I reported a few weeks ago, there still is confidence in the War Department that the war in Europe will be won this year. That view is held despite the delays in starting the invasion. But the Japanese war is far from won. After Germany is defeated it will take many months to shift our forces to the Pacific. The lines of supply are almost inconceivably long. Japan's finest armies have never been encountered. They are on guard against the Russians. Our greatest sacrifices are yet to be made.

*Washington* T. R. B.

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# Quick Dissolve

RENÉ CLAIR'S ART has disappeared in Hollywood with as much speed as that of Hitchcock, Lang or Renoir, but in Clair's case the disappearance has been so neat and complete as to seem magical. At the same time that his films have become increasingly empty of any kind of statement or attitude about anything, his technique has become dominantly dependent on dialogue, and the visual aspects of his films are confined to what are, admittedly, both tasteful and smooth renditions of stock movie situations. Though the characters in his newest film, "It Happened Tomorrow," are treated with gentleness, dignity and love, in a spirit that has a little of the folk-love that he exhibited in his French movies, they have far too little folk manners and pursuits. The difference between what Clair used to say and what he says now in a movie can be easily seen in the difference between the song in "Sous les Toits de Paris" and those used in "It Happened Tomorrow." For significance of every kind, the former has it about 200 percent over the latter.

Clair's newest movie was a "Short Short" story years ago in Collier's and has since traveled the rounds of the studios, being worked and reworked until it now bears half a dozen writers' names, including Clair's, Dudley Nichols' and even Lord Dunsany's. It is still, however, about a reporter, Dick Powell, who gets his wish to see tomorrow's newspaper 24 hours early. With this foreknowledge of the news, he becomes an ace reporter and is able to win $600,000 at the races. Then he gets the premature newspaper that announces his death, and much of the latter half of the picture is spent watching Dick Powell's sophomoric demonstrations of anguish over this fact. In the meantime he meets and marries Linda Darnell, the assistant of a magician, Jack Oakie.

Whatever enjoyment you can get out of the bare idea of a man being 24 hours ahead of everybody else, the events that are caused by the idea have happened in a lot of other movies in just about the same way, and often much better. It is told in a flashback from an anniversary celebration that you've seen before, where the little girl has trouble learning the little speech she has to give. There is also a chase across rooftops, and a struggle on the edges of various buildings. There are several scenes in which one comic detective, Edgar Kennedy, displays his irascibility. The situations would be all right if they illuminated any kind of character, manners or environment, but they don't, humorously or otherwise: the deficit is partly hidden by setting the time in the nineties, under a lot of costumes and period architecture—but Jack Oakie, and Edgar Kennedy, Powell and Darnell come through pretty clearly as what they have always been.

The events aren't much, but Clair does put them together very neatly, and manages some slight, tasteful humor in each one. For instance, the man who gives the reporter the magical newspapers is a nice, gentle sort, John Philliber, whose toothless kind of intonation and clear indication of sincerity and kindness, and a talented kind of rickety, precarious acting, make his scenes quite charming. An equally slight humor is managed at the horse races by recording their progress in Oakie's pantomiming as he bewilderedly watches his friend predict one race after another. There are some cute pieces of business, especially by various people's hands—the old man's manner of pawing and dusting off his newspaper file, Oakie's nonprofessional habit of gesturing at the audience while he is doing his magic tricks, the disarming way that Miss Darnell pushes at the knot of the man's tie she has to wear in one scene. The attempt, of course, is at a mild, warm little picture. But these amusements and whatever other slight charms the film has are so tenuous as to make it vacant rather than mild, and all that is indicated of Clair's personal expression, beyond taste and ease, is a faint echo of his former anarchic movie attitude and method; so that when gangsters shoot policemen the atmosphere of make-believe overrides that of realism and the seriousness of consequence disappears. There is also, but in a worn-out way, a kind of laughing at people's cowardice. But altogether there is so little to be identified with the old René Clair that it is like looking at a new one.

MANNY FARBER

# The Bandwagon

Governor Dewey, who first came to New York City with the intention of being a singer, said yesterday in a Music Week announcement that "the hearing of good music is no longer the prerogative of the rich."

"This has been brought about," he said, "in a manner befitting a free people, neither by government regimentation nor government subvention." – *From The New York World-Telegram.*

The Maroon, weekly student newspaper at the University of Chicago, will not be published today, the regular day of issue. The editors had prepared an edition detailing the controversy between Robert M. Hutchins, president of the university, and members of the faculty. . . . Last night Dean Charles Colwell, vice-president of the university, notified the editors that, although they had freedom to publish what they wished, they faced expulsion if this matter was printed. – *From The Chicago Sun.*

There is nothing wrong in young people discussing the intimate problems of life, provided they do it with their doctors, or their clergymen or priests or rabbis. Otherwise it is vulgar curiosity. – *Dorothy Dix in her syndicated column.*

## On the Home Front

The effect on trade of "invasion jitters" is not clearly defined because of other influences present, such as high earnings and wartime shortages, but the impression in retail quarters is that nervous tension explains in part at least the expansion in sales gains over last year. – *C. F. Hughes in The New York Times.*

## Total-War Department

Horse racing in New York state will be canceled for one day when the invasion comes, the state racing commission and officials of the state's racing associations said yesterday. – *From The Los Angeles Daily News.*

*Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

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# Correspondence

## Simple Solution

SIR: To my naïve mind has occurred what appears—at first sight—to be an essentially simple solution to an intricate problem:

Employees want raises largely to accumulate a reserve for a possible postwar depression and certain postwar pay decreases or loss of overtime income; employers in many cases are willing to accede to wage demands, but claim that the government objects because of their inflationary tendency; the federal government objects to raises because they are inflationary—a point of undoubted verity.

Why would it not be possible to create a special type of war bond which will mature—say—five years after issue, or at any other desirable term, but not be redeemable before maturity. The employer to pay the government quarterly (or at any other specified interval) the amounts due (to workers), representing the aggregate of the raise for such period; the government then to issue bonds in the employee's name.

Such a system would: (a) present the employee with the desired savings, to be spent at a time when purchasing power is desirable; (b) in the meantime supply the government with additional funds.

If desired, the bonds could bear interest at, say, two percent, equivalent to the rate paid by a good savings bank. This is not the same as forced savings, since these raises could not be permitted at all, unless made payable during a period of decreased consumer demand or increased supply.

*New York City* K. B.

## The Truth about the Co-Ops

SIR: Fulton Lewis Jr., radio commentator and columnist, in his column of May 13 and 14, made an unprovoked attack on the coöperative movement in which he accused coöperative leaders of using unlimited expense accounts. He contended that the co-ops are evading payment of taxes, said they are subsidized by the government through low-cost credit and charged that the coöperatives have become the kind of big business the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice is trying to destroy. All these charges are untrue.

Mr. Lewis opened his column by pointing out that he is a member of two coöperatives. In that case he should know more about the co-ops than his column indicated. Apparently no attempt was made to check his facts either with the Coöperative League of the USA or with the Consumers' Coöperative Association or Mr. Cowden, its president, who was personally maligned in the syndicated column.

Mr. Lewis declared in his column that "the salary of co-op officials must not be more than $7,500 a year. . . . However, there's no limitation on expense accounts." Both of these statements are false. Salaries are determined by boards of directors elected by the members of the coöperatives, and expense accounts are audited by independent auditors and are subject to review by both the directors and the members of the cooperative.

Lewis declared that coöperatives can sell only to stockholder members, which is untrue. Anyone may buy in a co-op and anyone may join. He further charges that the government extends subsidized loans to coöperatives. Actually, only farm cooperatives may borrow from the Bank for Coöperatives and the average rate is 2½ percent, which is not charity or subsidy. In fact the government has considerable revenue from these loans. Other types of business have access to loans from the RFC and other sources not available for coöperatives.

Lewis charges that the consumer coöperatives are exempt from taxes. Consumer coöperatives pay the same income taxes, property and license taxes as ordinary business; they also pay corporation taxes, sales taxes and excise taxes. The savings which coöperatives return to their members or which the members democratically vote to invest in capital are not income and therefore are not subject to income taxes. This is the same right which is available to other business, which may return overcharges to its customers if it wishes.

WALLACE J. CAMPBELL, Assistant Secretary,
The Coöperative League of the United States of America
*New York City*

## *From The New Republic Mail Bag*

The Reverend James Harry Price, president, Education for Freedom, Inc., New York City, writes to comment on the article "The Conflict in Education," by Helen Merrell Lynd, in The New Republic of May 22, 1944. The Reverend Mr. Price feels there was an implication in her article that Education for Freedom, Inc., is connected with other organizations, and writes to say that this is not true. "It [the organization] was incorporated last July by five founders, two of whom were clergymen, one a college president, and two business men, one of whom is a lawyer. Since that time two members have been added to the board of directors, one an advertising man, the other an economist. The advisory council of Education for Freedom, Inc., is made up almost entirely of educators. All of these people, no matter what their profession or occupation, have become associated with Education for Freedom, Inc., because they are interested in American education." Both Mrs. Lynd and the editors of The New Republic wish to repudiate the implication which the Reverend Mr. Price felt the article contained.

Arthur Hugh Jenkins writes to us from Philadelphia to complain of the article on "Pew of Pennsylvania" by Potomacus (The New Republic, May 8). He thinks there were numerous and serious errors, particularly in the paragraph about The Farm Journal. Mr. Jenkins says Potomacus underestimated its circulation and underestimated the accuracy of its farm poll. Although Mr. Jenkins does not mention the fact, "Who's Who" reveals that he has been on the staff of The Farm Journal since 1903 and editor since 1921.

F. C. Branter of Forest Hills, New York, writes opposing Mr. Churchill's praise of the Franco regime. Mr. Branter suggests that this statement may have undermined any confidence the Spanish people felt in the British and the United States governments and caused them to place their future in the hands of the Russians.

Our readers in the New York City area will be interested in a debate, "What Future for Germany?" which the Committee for a Democratic Foreign Policy is sponsoring at Town Hall on Monday, June 12. The participants are to be Dorothy Thompson and Louis Fischer, Rex Stout and Mark Van Doren. Tickets priced from 60 cents to $1.20 may be purchased by writing the Committee at 565 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York.

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# Books in Review

## Once Over Lightly

IT IS STRANGE that the most "literary" of contemporary painters—the Alma-Tadema, indeed, of surrealism—should have found it necessary to write books, first an autobiography and now a novel.[1] One would have thought that the literary career for which García Lorca had predicted Salvador Dali was destined had been fulfilled in his paintings with their transparent plots, characters, backgrounds, symbols, down to their tediously painted and pointed morals; the work obviously of an artist who had never learned his Lessing.

Alma-Tadema brings to mind his contemporary, Marie Corelli, who returns us to Dali's novel. And while Dali is a far better writer than the author of "The Sorrows of Satan," as he is a better painter than Sir Lawrence, it is with her work and that, say, of Edgar Saltus that "Hidden Faces" will ultimately be classified rather than with the "masters of decadence"—Petronius, Boccaccio and Huysmans—with whom his translator generously ranks him. For it is at bottom the now rather pitiful decadence of an endless *fin de siècle*, brought up-to-date with airplanes and Nazis and with even a touch of the more convincing diabolism of Montherlant and Céline in the writing.

In the France of 1937 we are introduced to the Count de Grandsailles, a latter-day Sade with fascist trimmings, and Solange de Cléda, "a profane Saint Theresa," whose given name is interestingly the same as that of the heroine of Montherlant's "Les Jeunes Filles"; Veronica Stevens, an American heiress, and her friend Betka, a "primitive," curiously given to sexual and narcotic excesses; and John Randolph, an American aviator, who wears a mask to cover his face, which has been scarred when his plane is shot down in Spain.

"Three years passed—1937, 1938, 1939. . . ." After the fall of France, Grandsailles is enabled to change his identity, escape to America and, through some Dumasesque flummery, marry Veronica, who is under the impression that he is the restored man in the mask with whom she had fallen imperishably in love after a fleeting encounter during an air raid. In the meantime (if this is beginning to sound like the burlesque of a libretto remember that Dali plans next to write an opera) Solange, deserted in France in the midst of one of Grandsailles' more unpleasant psychosomatic experiments, painfully survives the German occupation only to die in a fine frenzy of tortured love. The true lovers are reunited, and once more in his ancestral home the Count is drawn by a horrible attraction into the bed of his aged and ugly canoness—as grisly and effective a passage as the final scene in Aldous Huxley's "After Many a Summer Dies the Swan" and, on second thought, as divertingly unreal.

[1] Hidden Faces, by Salvador Dali. Translated by Haakon M. Chevalier. New York: The Dial Press. 413 pages. $3.

"Hidden Faces" is at once better and worse than this summary of the action and characters might suggest. *Given* the characters, several passages—a dinner at Grandsailles on the fatal Sixth of February, Solange's induced paranoia, Grandsailles' machinations in North Africa—are well done. Until the plot intervenes and takes over, Dali displays an intuitive feeling for the novel as a form. And for all its extravagance and overreliance on adjectives which betray the fact that he probably was not "destined for a literary career," the writing has a good deal of the brilliance that Dali and Chevalier claim for it. But it is not unfair to the style as a whole to quote the following passage, with its tasteless opportunism, muddled imagery and absurd anticlimax:

> Her nest [a Park Avenue "mansion"] was finished on the very day of Pearl Harbor. And in the whirl of black smoke, with the steel skeletons of the American ships, twisted and contracted like the arms of dying star fish, capsized under a starless sky, Veronica felt the decision of her own sacrifice to her country graze her body with the flags of ancient victories and her will fluttered like the star-spangled banner. For she not only loved her country, but identified herself with it. The fountain of Adonis? The tomb of Adonis? He and only he! Living or dead, real or unreal, he remained alone and unique in her thoughts, now especially since her own face was in turn going to be hidden by war, since at the moment when the slit of her mouth was preparing to open, it was to be covered by the white membrane of the hymen of sacrifice, by the panting mask which lends an occult touch to the faces of surgical nurses.
>
> For she had decided to become a nurse. . . .

Neither Dali nor this novel would be worth considering at length had he not chosen to write on what is perhaps the most urgent theme of our time. As Chevalier says in his Translator's Foreword, "'Hidden Faces' . . . is among other things an epitaph of prewar Europe . . . [the characters] bear the weight of great historic events as well as that of their own tangled lives." Dali has entered, then, a realm which with the prescience of greatness was charted by the authors of "Finnegans Wake" and "Le Temps Retrouvé," which may already be the ultimate epitaphs of that tragic era. Again Chevalier speaks of Dali's "monsters and nightmares." But just as the monumental paintings of Picasso and Roualt cast in shadows Dali's carefully assembled figurines, so his troubled sleepwalking in prose with its stagey hobgoblins is hardly frightening to one who has entered the genuine arena of reversal and terror

> Where the beggers raffle the banknotes
> And the Giant is enchanting to Jack,
> And the Lily-white boy is a roarer
> And Jill goes down on her back.

It is unfair to ask Dali to stand comparison with Proust and Joyce, but set beside him the authentic monsters and nightmares of Auden's "The Orators" or Isherwood's "Goodbye to Berlin" and see his watches curl and his telephones droop.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

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# Neither Pith Nor Vinegar

*Left Hand, Right Hand, by Sir Osbert Sitwell. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 319 pages. $3.*

THE FIRST VOLUME of Osbert Sitwell's memoirs has provoked a number of reviewers into curious reflections on the merits and charms of aristocracy, while others have seen in it a portrait of all England, which it is as far from being as the Song of Songs is from being a proper account of the Anglican view of marriage. Others have seen in it a consecutive and beautiful essay on living. But, for any man who knew London and Paris in the years immediately following the last war, even as a mere piker, it is the passing of time and its changes that must govern his mood in reading the book. Osbert Sitwell, this Sir Osbert, was once a recognized leader, by gifts and spirit almost as much as by license from sister Edith, of what one still occasionally thinks of as the "modernist movement."

"Blast," "The Enemy," "Coterie!" where are they? Where are the manifestoes of yesteryear? Those were the days of furious polemics and excited creation, of tremendous campaigns: Wyndham Lewis against everybody who resembled him too closely or too little; the Sitwells against all who doubted that the New Parnassus had risen that very morning, like a Mexican volcano, around their unicorn-haunted Chelsea residence. Those were the days when the vanguardists of music hung upon the next issue of The Chesterian, and we could not sit through the ballet without knowing what delicious work old Satie and young Poulenc were planning for two piccolos, five cellos and an ophicleide. Those were the days when we took Stravinsky's "Songs of a Little Cat" seriously and were even concerned about Ornstein. How hard it is to believe now that I once paraded outside of a Paris concert hall with a sandwich board, "Down with Concerti!"

One's sense of remoteness from those days is partly due to the victories that were won. And partly this distance in time is due to the continual quaking of society. Artistic revolt, often the comfort of those disgusted or dismayed with the fact and the results of the last war, was not proof against the coming of the new disorders. Literary revolt, indeed, in the esthetic sense was too often a conscious dodging of the issues. The new necessities proved that Sir Osbert's unicorns were nothing but glass rocking-horses after all. They made very poor battle chargers against the Niebelung barbarism across the way. New schools of writing arose and the best recruits of the thirties gave themselves to the literature of social revolt. And now that banner has been riddled, chiefly by our own artillery.

There is much in this volume which suggests another reason for the recession of leaders. There was, as one always suspected, a softness, a self-indulgence, a sentimentalism about the Sitwells, all three of them. And trickery. Sacheverell bought his tropic tanagers at a pet shop and Edith's biscuit-snapping parrots had never been to sea. Looking back it is a wonder we did not ask, when the Sitwells claimed to have ridden Pegasus that very afternoon, why they needed such bloody spurs. They were drinkers who, in their wildest carousals with Bacchus, were careful not to mix their drinks.

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—*N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review.*

"Masterly."—*New Republic.* $3.50

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And now here is Sir Osbert, the self-conscious aristocrat of fifty years, composing a Family Portrait Gallery, in the ostensible form of memoirs. The dominant spiritual qualities of his book, aside from filial affection and a real but over-precious love of beauty, are nostalgia and a somewhat mournful pride in grandeur of lineage, the extramural appeal of which is eked out with once sure-fire claims to eccentricity and extravagance. On the whole, however, the portraits are static, built up by simple enumeration of the sitter's qualities, his quirks and strong points, imperfectly projected by means of choice anecdotes. Only rarely is there any insight or even interest in action and reaction, or in the processes of development. The old self-indulgence, too, prevents the author from achieving sharp focus, even in his static portraits. And in his best years he was never so much part of life at Renishaw (the ancestral home) that his portraits illustrate a characteristic attitude toward life. They suffer, therefore, from what one might call complementary defects. Chaucer, in the Prologue, could take types from the stock literature and give them individual identity. Sir Osbert's characters remain almost insubstantial in their anecdotal existence, but they are still not valid types embodying a recognizable way of life.

In one case only does Sir Osbert achieve success, though it is only a partial success. Indeed, if one considers the opportunity presented by Sir George, his father, it is quite muffed. Probably that extraordinary man should have been portrayed in a novel. The anecdotes and instances certainly disclose a real and vivid personality and there are startling, almost alarming, glimpses of his progressive retreat from the world. Yet Sir Osbert makes too much of Sir George's oddity, but without offering or perceiving an explanation of it. (Why, one asks, does a man need to build six costly libraries, and why does he need three in England, and one each in such queer places as Ghent and Antwerp?)

Just as one would not miss hearing a new Shostakovich work but would not willingly hear it again, this is a book I would not for all the world miss reading once. There is beauty here, besides the "period interest," even great beauty, as in Sir Osbert's description of the blast furnace's illumination of the nocturnal park. But there is so much to irritate, to exasperate and anger even; the style, for example. In his Introduction Sir Osbert says he wants his book to be "gothic, complicated in surface and crowned with turrets and with pinnacles." That is all very well, but it is also Romanesque, two sorts of late Greek, baroque, rococo and churrigueresque, plain Pugin and downright Sir Gilbert Scott. Nor is a liking for knobs and crockets excuse for the triviality of matter he far too often records.

There is another unpleasantness which is harder to define but which is persistent. It is a sort of self-conscious esthetic-ism which too often argues superficiality. And he has his palpable devices for getting round to choice bits. There is, too, beneath the professed humanity a frivolity which sometimes angers one. Having presented two excellent pictures, one of the behavior of Yorkshire fishwives during a storm and the other of Sicilian women in a like event, he compares them thus:

> Unforgettable and moving as was this scene [in Sicily] it was not more impressive than the trust and calm reliance on every day of the Scarborough fishwives, and so let us set the herring, the cause often of tragedy, above the sardine for all its excellence. "The puissant red herring, the golden, Hesperides red herring, the Meonian red herring, the red herring of red Herring's Hal," etc. . . .

In the first place that's a hell of a fancy-pants way to drag in a quotation from Thomas Nashe (I swear it's in "The Week-End Book"). And then what shall we say of a poet in whom ominous and grave images have so little force that they permit such a conclusion?

Beauty, then, but marred too often. So that it is the general atmosphere one remembers. And, surely, the horn music is not all nostalgia for his childhood. Sir Osbert is writing of Aristocracy with a haunting sense that its day is done. To be sure, his side is still well ahead on the score board. But he knows that the Sir Georges allied themselves with Birmingham screw manufacturers, bottle-nosed railway directors of the type of Stanley Baldwin, and what is vulgarly called "the beerage," and that among them all they got England into very sorry shape and have lost face. "But after all they had character," he seems to say. I never did like that piece of sentimentalism. One remembers that Versailles and the Hotel Rambouillet had manners, but the guillotine had pith.

RALPH BATES

# Three Recent Novels

*Transit, by Anna Seghers. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 312 pages. $2.50.*
*Peter Domanig, by Victor White. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 704 pages. $3.*
*Fiddler in the Sky, by Kathleen Hoagland. New York: Harper and Brothers. 301 pages. $2.50.*

AFTER HIS ESCAPE from a concentration camp ("The Seventh Cross") Anna Seghers follows her German refugee to Marseilles, during the frenetic early days of the Occupation. Here he moves like a sleepwalker, refusing to become entangled in the hopeless paraphernalia of exit visas, entrance visas, danger visas, sailing dates and birth certificates.

"Transit" is not succeessful as a whole, but it nevertheless haunts the mind. Miss Seghers has created a paper world, or—more correctly—a flypaper world; man's feet are firmly glued to the dossier which represents not only his life, but his identity. In this world the only intelligent flies are those who refuse to struggle:

> For it was nonsense, just sheer nonsense . . . to leave one flaming city for another that was burning . . . transfer from one lifeboat to another on the bottomless sea.

Or, to restore the metaphor, the fortunate ones will extricate themselves only to be trapped at the edge of the paper —at the blue line of the Mediterranean.

This is an understandable philosophy for Seidler-Weidel, the German who has borrowed, fittingly enough, the paper identity of a dead writer. After the traumata of imprisonment, escape and the loss of self, he wants only to sit by the fire of a cheap café and listen to the muffled babble of life and death around him.

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The other refugees cannot see beyond the happy ending of getting on a ship, any ship. But Seidler knows that the real problem begins with emigration: the problem of thrusting mutilated roots into alien soil. He is like a man after an amputation, who begs to stay in bed another week, another month, postponing the foreign crutches and the artificial legs by which he will have to learn the business of life over again in a new and dreadful way.

Two things intrude on Seidler's womblike peace: To stay in Marseilles he has to prove his immediate intention of leaving. And there is a girl—or rather an obsession about a girl—toward whom he is unable to stretch a hand. We enter the dream realms of Kafka—the fearful advances and withdrawals, the obsessional testing of fact by superstition: If she comes today, that will mean she loves me. The somnambulistic game of pursuit and retreat is carried out with papers, visas, tickets, for which Seidler develops an easy, contemptuous talent.

In the last two pages Miss Seghers, perhaps confronted with the political implication of her symbolic world, destroys it altogether. With a whisk of the tricolor, she transports Seidler to an unannounced third alternative: a French potato farm where, we may be sure, he will await the invasion with spade and rifle poised. The effect on the book is disastrous: the girl, who has played Life to Seidler's Death, sails, sinks and reappears as a ghost—a complete reversal of symbols.

This kind of writing necessarily begins with symbolism —*i. e.*, the realities of emotion—rather than with the realities of character and situation. But an author who plays intellectually with emotional symbols is always in danger of juggling them too carelessly. Recently in The Nation Diana Trilling, reading backward and judging the book as a logical whole, found that its "cruel joke of a plot" violated the reader's sentiments toward refugees. This would demmonstrate, I think, the chance a writer takes when he mixes Kafka with naturalism. If the book is to be peopled, like so many modern political novels, with the fears and shadows—male and female—projected by the author's mind, they must remain consistent shadows, and not traduce their shadowness by improbably joining the Underground. Mrs. Trilling attributes Seidler's heartlessness to the author's Communistic habit of justifying means by ends. In the first place, the literary habit of peopling books with non-people is by no means restricted to Communists. In the second place, if we are going to be personal about a writer's shortcomings, let us choose something more fundamentally relevant to the writing. For instance, what accounts for the prevalent myopia in the modern artist's vision of people?

This myopia, and the intellectual juggling of emotional symbols, are not confined to the intellectually proficient. The same trouble can be found in the latest, and the largest, of the "great novels" acclaimed by publishers. This is "Peter Domanig," a collection of sincere clichés which I am sorry to say I was unable to finish.

But for the reader who confesses an embarrassing craving for a genuine old-fashioned novel—which uses symbolism only to reinforce the impact of "real characters" moving in real situations—I can recommend "Fiddler in the Sky," by Kathleen Hoagland. Despite many ineptitudes of style, this is a surprisingly good first novel, in which


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the disintegration of an upper-class Irish family in 1916 coincides with the breakdown of a society. Here, as in Graham Greene's "The Labyrinthine Ways," the typical victims of revolution are neither black nor white, so that we may question both their personal innocence and their political guilt. MARJORIE FARBER

# Instrumental Economics

*The Theory of Economic Progress, by C. E. Ayres. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 317 pages. $3.*

ACADEMIC ECONOMIC DOCTRINE has been long held in disrepute by laymen. That is attributable, of course, to a persistent disinclination to discuss the problems within its scope with a reasonable measure of reality. When Adam Smith was writing of the virtues of individual enterprise and of the omnipotent beneficence of the market, he was describing an economic fact readily grasped by the business men of his day. The problems of price and the market place had a reality and meaning that could not be denied; the economic realm then was primarily a realm of price, supply and demand. But the world moved on. Industrialism, tools, technology—ways of doing things—soon overshadowed the merchant's concern with pricing. And that required a new approach to the riddles of social science.

Professor Ayres, who writes in the liberal tradition of John Dewey and Thorstein Veblen, fully understands the need for a fresh start in economics. In fact, he suggests that we begin by unequivocally dropping the whole intellectual façade of orthodox price dogma. Price economics, which is the main substance of modern doctrine, is ill suited for an intelligent appraisal of the social problems of an industrial civilization. In one of the keenest evaluations of contemporary theory that has ever been written, the author shows how the inordinate preoccupation with detailed mathematical refinements fails to tell us anything about the nature of business enterprise. Man earns his living not by imitating the actions of the broker but by the manipulation of tools and machines and by the exercise of knowledge and skills. Ours is a culture of technology, he argues, and economics must be concerned with industrial techniques.

Yet the orthodox theoretical system remains with us. Its hardiness cannot be explained by any inherent logical consistency. Admiration for pure logic merely reveals an uncritical acceptance of outmoded premises. The persistence of laissez-faire notions, now dressed in the new clothes of monopolistic competition, can be examined solely in the light of Western intellectual history. Professor Ayres is well prepared to undertake such an inquiry. He exhibits an erudition and an intellectual perception that are to be expected only from one who is a philosopher and a student of ideas as well as an economist. Drawing on the wealth of material at his command, Professor Ayres gives his readers a superb analysis of the foundations of economic behavior. In this presentation, price, value, capital, money and interest, production, competition and economic equilibrium are discussed with a precision of thought reminiscent of Veblen. Like Veblen, Ayres is not easy reading, yet the many fresh insights repay the concentration demanded.

Professor Ayres does not view developments in the industrial arts as the sole motive power in economic change. The utilization of our complex technological equipment is subject, unfortunately, to the cultural requirements of a host of ceremonial forms. Custom and law may conceal the inhibiting impact of ceremony, yet the restrictions are bound to be felt in the strains and stresses of social upset. The history of man, says the author, is the history of the conflict between technology and ceremony. Some readers may feel that this approximates the Marxian dichotomy. But Ayres is an evolutionist in method and an instrumentalist in philosophy; his treatment is not beclouded by an unnecessary dialectic.

Yet the instrumentalist approach to economics must seem lacking in some respects. We cannot deny that the exercise of social intelligence based on a knowledge of tools and their operations is bound to give us a more effectively functioning society than we now have. But ideas alone will not enforce the requisite changes in ceremonial patterns. What we need is a profound reconsideration of our moral and spiritual values. And that demands going beyond technology. BEN B. SELIGMAN

## Contributors

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CAREY MCWILLIAMS' most recent book is "Prejudice—The Japanese Americans: Symbol of Racial Intolerance," which is to be published in August by Little, Brown and Company. The Public Affairs Committee is issuing a pamphlet which he wrote for them, summarizing the relocation phase of the same problem.

FREDERICK EBRIGHT, a technical sergeant, has been with the Army Air Forces in the Aleutian area for more than a year. One of his short stories is included in "Cross-Section: An Anthology of Contemporary Writers," edited by Edwin Seaver, which was published by L. B. Fischer on May 29. His poetry has appeared in The Atlantic Monthly, The Commonweal, The Virginia Quarterly Review, The Nation, The New Republic and other magazines.

RALPH BATES is now working on a long novel, a study of an English family in a small English village, during the years 1917 to 1943.

MARJORIE FARBER was until recently the assistant editor of the New York Times Sunday Book Review. She has also been a staff writer for Science Service, collaborated for a year with Professor Samuel Cross of Harvard, translating Pushkin and Bunin lyrics, and has done editing and book-reviewing in Washington for the journal, Psychiatry.

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